

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4950
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AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MADRID 06750

USEEC AND USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSIES

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: ELAB, SP
SUBJECT: MORE ON POSSIBLE CENTER-ORIENTED LABOR MOVEMENT
IN SPAIN

REF: MADRID 5835

1. SUMMARY: UCD LEADER ARTURO MOYA IS CONFIDENT THAT SUAREZ IS DISPOSED TO GIVE THE GREEN LIGHT TO A STRONG EFFORT IN THE LABOR FIELD, WHICH THE UCD GOVT PARTY HAS IDENTIFIED AS A VITAL ELEMENT IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. THE GOAL WOULD BE A THIRD, CENTER-ORIENTED MAINSTREAM LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH WOULD OFFER "INDEPENDENT
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WORKERS" A NON-MARXIST ALTERNATIVE. THE AVERAGE SPANISH WORKER, HE SAID, WAS MORE INTERESTED IN SERVICES THAN IN POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, AND A DEMOCRATICALLY-ORIENTED "NEW SPAIN" WAS UNDER PRESSURE TO PROVIDE MORE SOCIAL FRINGE BENEFITS. IT WAS HIS HOPE THAT SPLINTER INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION ELEMENTS MIGHT BE ABLE TO UNITE. IF MOYA'S OPTIMISM WITH RESPECT TO SUAREZ' SUPPORT IS

JUSTIFIED, IT LOOKS AS THOUGH THE UCD WILL SHORTLY ENTER THE SPANISH LABOR SCENE WITH BOTH FEET. WITHOUT DOUBT, THE LEFTIST UNIONS WILL CRY FOUL AND CHARACTERIZE THE PLANNED ORGANIZATION AS "YELLOW", BUT THIS WILL PROBABLY NOT DETRACT SIGNIFICANTLY FROM ITS POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING CONVERSATION WITH ACTING DCM AND LABATT ON JUNE 12, THE UCD'S YOUNG AND DYNAMIC DEPUTY FROM GRANADA, ARTURO MOYA, OUTLINED HIS VIEWS ON THE POSSIBLE EMERGENCE OF A CENTER-ORIENTED ("NON-MARXIST ALTERNATIVE") TRADE UNION. MOYA, CLOSE TO PRESIDENT SUAREZ AND ACTIVE IN THE INNER CIRCLES OF THE UCD GOVT PARTY, WAS RECENTLY TAPPED TO HEAD A PLANNED UCD-SPONSORED FOUNDATION FOR LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (REFTEL). HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS COMMENTS ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW.

3. SUAREZ WAS DISPOSED TO SUPPORT A STRONG UCD EFFORT IN THE LABOR FIELD -- AS APPARENTLY WAS SECOND VICE PRESIDENT ABRIL MARTORELL -- AND MOYA HOPED TO GET THE GREEN LIGHT MOMENTARILY, FOLLOWING WHICH HE INTENDED TO WASTE NO TIME IN LEGALLY REGISTERING THE NEW ORGANIZATION (THE EXACT NAME OF WHICH HE WAS KEEPING CONFIDENTIAL) WITH BRANCH OFFICES IN ALL THE PROVINCES OF SPAIN. IT WOULD BE ORIENTED TOWARDS THREE DISTINCT SECTORS: WORKER, AGRARIAN, AND "CUADROS" (PROFESSIONAL WHITE COLLAR CONFIDENTIAL

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TECHNICIANS AND MIDDLE-MANAGEMENT). PERHAPS WITH TONGUE IN CHEEK, MOYA NOTED THAT "ALL THAT WAS NEEDED" FOR SUCCESS WAS A) A CAREFUL STUDY OF THE CURRENT SOCIO-LABOR SITUATION (ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED, HE SAID), B) POLITICAL CLOUT (PRESUMABLY ASSURED THROUGH SUAREZ' BACKING), AND C) SUFFICIENT FUNDING. WHEN PRESSED ON THE LATTER POINT, THE UCD LEADER SAID THEY WOULD HAVE TO RELY UPON "TRADITIONAL POLITICAL PARTY SOURCES", I.E. BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN. LABATT NOTED THAT THE UGT'S NEW LABOR EDUCATION INSTITUTE WAS OPENLY SUPPORTED BY THE SPD'S FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG, AND INQUIRED WHETHER THE CDU'S KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION (KAF) MIGHT NOT BE WILLING TO PROVIDE SIMILAR ASSISTANCE TO THE UCD LABOR EFFORT (SEE REFTTEL). MOYA REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE WITHOUT HESITATION, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT THEY HOPED FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM "MANY" FOUNDATIONS (AND HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED FORD FOUNDATION AS AN EXAMPLE). HE REPLIED NEGATIVELY WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE CEOE (EMPLOYERS' UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION) MIGHT BE APPROACHED FOR ASSISTANCE, BUT ADDED THAT THEY WOULD BE "EXCHANGING VIEWS" WITH CEOE PRESIDENT CARLOS FERRER AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

4. MOYA STRESSED THAT IT WOULD BE FOLLY FOR THE UCD TO IGNORE THE LABOR SECTOR, A VITAL ELEMENT IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. ONLY 25 TO 30 PERCENT OF THE WORKERS WERE ORGANIZED, AND THE SPANISH TRADE UNION PANORAMA COULD AND SHOULD INCLUDE A THIRD, CENTER-ORIENTED MAINSTREAM LABOR MOVEMENT IN ADDITION TO THE COMMUNIST (CC.OO.) AND SOCIALIST (UGT), BOTH OF WHICH ARE DOMINATED BY POLITICAL PARTIES. THE AVERAGE SPANISH WORKER, HE

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ASSERTED, WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE INTERESTED IN SOCIAL FRINGE BENEFITS THAN IN THE IDEOLOGICAL CLASS STRUGGLE THEME PUSHED BY THE CC.OO. AND THE UGT WHICH, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, HELPED THE POLITICAL PARTY SPONSORS (I.E. THE PCE AND THE PSOE) MORE THAN THE TRADE UNIONS. THUS, THE DEMOCRATICALLY ORIENTED "NEW SPAIN" WAS UNDER PRESSURE TO PROVIDE -- IN A DIFFERENT WAY, OF COURSE -- AT LEAST SOME OF THE SERVICES WORKERS HAD RECEIVED UNDER THE OLD VERTICALISTA SYNDICAL STRUCTURE: EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIE LEGAL SERVICES, HOUSING HELP, VACATION PROGRAMS, ETC. FROM

A "NON-IDEOLOGICAL" LABOR ORGANIZATION.

5. AS HE VISUALIZED IT, THE UCDDS NEW FOUNDATION OR
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INSTITUTE WOULD PROVIDE ASSISTANCE AND SERVICES TO THOSE
"INDEPENDENT WORKERS" WHO HAD NO PLACE TO TURN TO --
OTHER THAN THE "MARXIST" UNIONS -- FOR HELP. AS A
STARTER, HE POINTED OUT THAT THE RECENT LABOR PLANT
ELECTIONS HAD PRODUCED BETWEEN 30,000 AND 40,000
"INDEPENDENT" PLANT DELEGATES (SEE MADRID 4261) THAT NEEDED
SUPPORT AND BACKSTOPPING. HE IMPLIED THAT THE UCD HAD
ACCESS TO THESE LISTS OF ELECTED INDEPENDENTS AND WOULD BE
CONTACTING THEM. (HE ALSO NOTED WRYLY THAT THE UGT HAD
REQUESTED ACCESS TO THE LISTS HAD BEEN TURNED DOWN,
PRESUMABLY BY THE MINISTRY OF LABOR). MOYA REPEATED
EARLIER PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE UCD COULD
NOT, NOR DID IT WISH TO, "CREATE" A TRADE UNION. THEY
HOPED THAT FROM THIS NATIONWIDE "GATHERING OF WORKERS AND
TRADE UNIONISTS", A TRUE LABOR MOVEMENT WOULD SPRING TO
LIFE WITH ITS OWN "LEGITIMATE" LEADERS. SUCH A UNION, HE
SPECULATED, WOULD BE MORE ECONOMICALLY THAN POLITICALLY
ORIENTED.

6. MOYA DECLARED THAT HE HAD BEEN WORKING ON THIS UCD
LABOR PROJECT SINCE JANUARY 1978, AND THAT HE HAD BEEN IN
CONTACT WITH "ALL THE UNIONS FROM USO TO THE RIGHT",
INCLUDING THE BASQUE STV, OF WHICH HE SPOKE HIGHLY. HE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS INCLUDED SPECIFICALLY SUCH CENTER-
ORIENTED SPLINTER UNIONS AS THE CDT, CGT, CTI, CTC, AND
CESI (SEE REFTTEL), AND STATED CONFIDENTIALLY THAT THEY
HAD GIVEN SOME FINANCIAL HELP TO "MOST OF THESE GROUPS"
DURING THE PLANT ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AND THAT INCLUDED THE
STV. IT WAS NOW HIS HOPE THAT THE SPLINTER INDEPENDENT
TRADE UNION ELEMENTS MIGHT BE ABLE TO UNITE. HE SAID
THERE WERE SEVERAL POSSIBLE LEADERS WHO COULD TAKE OVER
A CENTER-ORIENTED UNION AND EXPRESSED SPECIAL INTEREST
IN CDT SECGEN JOSE FUEYO (A 32-YEAR OLD MINER FROM
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ASTURIAS WHO HAD BROKEN AWAY FROM THE CC.OO. WHEN
MARCELINO CAMACHO WAS PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS A MEMBER
OF THE PCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE). FUEYO, HE SAID, HAD
POTENTIAL AS A TRADE UNION LEADER AND "REAL CONTACT WITH
THE WORKING MAN." WHEN QUESTIONED HOW THE INDEPENDENT
SOCIALIST USO FIT INTO THE PICTURE, MOYA ASSERTED THAT

USO SECGEN ZAGUIRRE AND HIS COLLEAGUES WERE NOT "DOCTRI-
NAIRE SOCIALISTS", AND THAT THE UNION'S EARLIER CHRISTIAN
COLORATION MIGHT ENABLE IT TO JOIN A CENTER-ORIENTED
MOVEMENT. FINALLY, IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUERY, THE UCD LEAD
SAID HE DID NOT IN THE LEAST MIND THAT CHARGES WOULD BE
LEVELLED FROM THE LEFT THAT THE PROPOSED UCD LABOR
ORGANIZATION WAS "POLITICALLY MOTIVATED" (AFTER ALL, WHAT
WERE THE UGT AND CC.OO. TRADE UNIONS IF NOT "POLITICAL"?).
WHAT HE DID NOT WANT TO DO, HE EMPHASIZED, WAS TO FOUND A
TRADE UNION AND HAVE IT LABELLED "YELLOW" RIGHT OFF.
A TRADE UNION HAD TO GROW ORGANICALLY AND COULD NOT BE
FOUNDED OUT OF WHOLE CLOTH. FOR THIS REASON A FOUNDATION
HAD TO BE ORGANIZED FIRST WHICH COULD ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH
OF A CENTER TRADE UNION. THIS WOULD TAKE TIME -- AT LEAST
A YEAR, MOYA SAID.

7. COMMENT. MOYA WAS, AS USUAL, REMARKABLY CANDID IN HIS
REMARKS, AND IF HIS OPTIMISM WITH RESPECT TO SUAREZ'
SUPPORT IS JUSTIFIED, IT LOOKS AS THOUGH THE UCD GOVT PARTY
WILL SHORTLY ENTER THE SPANISH LABOR SCENE WITH BOTH FEET.
WITHOUT DOUBT, THE LEFTIST UNIONS WILL CRY FOUL AND THE
UNDERTAKING WILL BE CHARACTERIZED AS BOTH "VERTICALISTA"
(I.E. STEMMING FROM THE OLD SSO - SPANISH SYNDICAL
ORGANIZATION) AND "YELLOW" NO MATTER HOW THE UCD PRESENTS
THE PACKAGE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CHOICE OF MOYA TO
HEAD SUCH A FOUNDATION WOULD BE A SHREWD ONE NOT ONLY
BECAUSE OF HIS ENERGY AND DYNAMISM BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF

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HIS CREDENTIALS AS A PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT. WHEN THE RECENT REORGANIZATION OF UCD WAS ANNOUNCED (MADRID 5321), IT SEEMED THAT MOYA WAS BEING SHUNTED ASIDE, AND HE HAD PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED FEARS TO US THAT HE WAS LOSING OUT IN POWER STRUGGLE TO FACTION WITHIN UCD DOMINATED BY VICE-PRESIDENT ABRIL (MOYA-BREMENT MEMCON APRIL 4). MOYA NOW EXPECTS, HOWEVER, TO BE NAMED UNDERSECRETARY IN ABRIL'S OFFICE AND TO RUN UCD LABOR AFFAIRS IN THAT POSITION. IF HE IS INDEED NAMED TO THAT POST, IT WOULD CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THAT SUAREZ IS COMPLETELY BEHIND HIM AND THIS, IN TURN, WILL MAGNIFY HIS POLITICAL CLOUT CONSIDERABLY AND OF COURSE FACILITATE HIS EFFORTS IN THE LABOR FIELD. IT IS ALSO OF INTEREST IN THIS REGARD TO NOTE THAT MOYA NOW
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WISHES TO GIVE HIS UPCOMING IVP TRIP TO THE U.S. (TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TO COMMENCE JULY 3) AN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SLANT. HE WOULD THUS HOPE TO CONTACT TRADE UNION, MANAGEMENT, AND PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS(E.G. FORD, ROCKEFELLER, CARNEGIE, GERMAN MARSHALL FUND, ETC. SPECIFIC PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS SEPTTEL). BREMENT

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